

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 07343 081855Z

63

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 7343

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, GR

SUBJECT: FAR LEFT MOVES TOWARD COLLABORATION

REF: A. ATHENS 7165

B. ATHENS 7342

1. SUMMARY. THE THREE MAJOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE GREEK FAR LEFT - THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EDA) AND THE TWO COMMUNIST PARTIES, HAVE AGREED TO RALLY THEIR ELECTORAL EFFORTS UNDER A UNITED LEFT BANNER. MOVE WILL ENCOURAGE INDEPENDENT LEFTIST PERSONALITIES, WHO DO NOT WANT A PARTY AFFILIATION, TO SUPPORT THE FAR LEFT. COMBINED WITH MOVEMENT OF CENTER LEFT ELEMENTS INTO FULL COOPERATION WITH THE CENTER UNION, THIS ACTION BY THE FAR LEFT TENDS TO ISOLATE THE INCIPIENT ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT OF ANDREAS PAPANDREOU INTO UNCHARTED AND AT PRESENT CONFINING POLITICAL TERRAIN BETWEEN FAR LEFT AND CENTER LEFT. END SUMMARY.

2. LAST WEEK (REFTEL A) BOTH FACTIONS OF THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY, KKE/EXTERIOR AND KKE/INTERIOR, ANNOUNCED UNEASY ALLIANCES WITH THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EDA). BOTH FACTIONS WERE UNENTHUSIASTIC BECAUSE EACH FELT THE OTHER MIGHT BE GAINING MORE OR SURRENDERING LESS VIS-A-VIS CONTRADICTORY CLAIMS FOR
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 07343 081855Z

COMMUNIST IDENTIFICATION. ILIAS ILIOU AND HIS EDA, WHO LED

NEGOTIATIONS FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCE, APPEAR TO HAVE COME UP WITH, OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCED IN THE EXPEDIENT DEVICE OR A NEW AND NEUTRAL UNITED LEFT UMBRELLA FOR ALL THREE ORGANIZATIONS. WHILE INTRA-ORGANIZATION RIVALRIES AND FRICTIONS REMAIN, THE UNITED LEFT APPROACH HAS MORE ELECTORAL APPEAL THAN THE GRUDGING QUAIS-MERGERS THAT ALL GROUPS RECOGNIZED AS SELF-DEFEATING.

3. AN IMPORTANT TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IS THAT INDEPENDENT LEFTIST PERSONALITIES, SOME OF THEM ELECTORALLY POTENT, WHO WANT TO IDENTIFY WITH THE FAR LEFT BUT WHO ESCHEW DIRECT ORGANIZATIONAL TIES WITH ANY OF THE EXISTING PARTY OPTIONS, CAN NOW SUPPORT AND RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM THE FAR LEFT. THESE INCLUDE INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST MIKIS THEODORAKIS WHO, NOTWITHSTANDING RECENT PRO-CARAMANLIS ENDORSEMENT, MAY STILL BECOME DEPUTY CANDIDATE FOR UNITED LEFT; EX-DEPUTY STAVROS ELIOPOULOS WHO REPRESENTS THE NON-COMMUNIST SOCIALIST STRAIN OF EDA AND WHO LOST A LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE WITH ILIOU, THUS BEING PROPELLED INTO INDEPENDENT STATUS; AND ACTRESS MELINA MERCOURI WHO HAS PRONOUNCED HERSELF A COMMUNIST WITH FEMINIST POLITICAL GOALS.

4. THE UNITED LEFT STRATEGY WILL ALSO MAKE THE RANK-AND-FILE ELECTORAL WORKERS HAPPIER. ORGANIZATIONAL SPLITS AND INTENSE PERSONALITY RIVALRIES BETWEEN THE TWO KKE BRANCHES AND WITH EDA ARE NEITHER MIRRORED TO ANY LARGE DEGREE, NOR POPULAR WITH, LOWER ECHELON SUPPORTERS WHO MUST GET OUT THE VOTE FOR LEFTIST CANDIDATES. SHORT OF A SINGLE ORGANIZATION, THEY HAVE THE NEXT BEST TACTICALLY APPEALING DEAL IN A UNITED LEFT COALITION.

5. EVEN WHILE AGREEING TO NEW FORM OF COOPERATION, KKE/ EXTERIOR ISSUED A NEW CRITICISM OF EDA, CLAIMING THAT IN CURRENT SOLICITATION FOR FUNDS EDA IS MIS-REPRESENTING ITS ORGANIZATION AS HAVING PROVIDED THE MAJOR RESISTANCE TO JUNTA AND AS PRIMARY FINANCIAL VICTIM WHOSE OFFICES AND COFFERS STRIPPED THROUGH PERSECUTION. KKE/EXTERIOR RECALLS THAT PRESENT EDA ORGANIZATIONS BEARS LITTLE RESEMBLANCE T PRE-JUNTA EDA WHICH RALIED UPON KKE AS ITS BULWARK. IN SUPPORT ITS OWN SACRIFICES, SEPARATE KKE/ EXTERIOR NEWS STORY CALLED PUBLIC ATTENTION TO FACT THAT FIRST WITNESSES TO VOLUNTEER INFORMATION TO TORTURE INVESTIGATION OF DISTRICT ATTORNEY PAPPAS (REFTEL B) WERE COMMUNISTS.

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 07343 081855Z

6. CIRCLES CLOSE TO KKE/EXTERIOR HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT DESPITE LEGALIZATION OF PARTY, PARTY LEADER FLORAKIS AND OTHER LEADING COMMUNISTS CANNOT RUN IN ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY WERE DEPRIVED OF GREEK CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIL RIGHTS PRIOR TO JUNTA PERIOD. CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT'S RESTORATION OF CITIZENSHIP APPLIED ONLY TO THOSE STRIPPED OF CITIZENSHIP BY JUNTA. (JUDICIAL COMMITTEES ARE CURRENTLY REVIEWING DOSSIERS ON GREEKS DENIED CITIZENSHIP BEFORE 1967. KKE PRESUMABLY LOBBYING FOR SOME OF ITS KEY MEMBERS

AND HOPING FOR INVESTIGATIONS AND FAVORABLE RULINGS PRIOR TO ELECTIONS.)

7. FORMATION OF UNITED LEFT WILL PUT PRESSURE ON ANDREAS PAPAN-DREOU TO MARK OUT HIS POLITICAL TERRAIN MORE CLEARLY. THE COALESCENCE OF FAR LEFT, COMBINED WITH CENTER LEFT MOVEMENT TO CENTER UNION, MAY ISOLATE PAPANDREOU AND HIS UNTRIED ORGANIZATION. IF HE SHOULD WANT TO COLLABORATE WITH FAR LEFT, IT WILL BE EASIER FOR HIM TO DO SO WITH THE RATHER AMORPHOUS IMAGE PROJECTED BY UNITED LEFT THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN FEASIBLE WITH EDA ALONE, WHICH REPRESENTS A FIXED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION COMPETITIVE WITH HIS PAN-HELLENIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (PASOK). THERE IS NO CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE FAR LEFT NOW WISHES TO ENCOURAGE PAPANDREOU TO JOIN IT; THE LEFTIST PRESS IS CONTINUING ITS MIDLY REPROVING COMMENTS ON ANDREAS WHO IN TURN MAINTAINS HE WILL RUN SOLEY ON HIS OWN PLATFORM WITH PASOK. HE MAY BE TOTALLY COMMITTED TO A SEPARATIST STANCE IN HOPE OF SUCCESSFULLY FORGING OVER TIME A POLITICAL MOVEMENT RESPONSIVE ONLY TO HIMSELF, EVEN IF HE MUST IN THE SHORT TERM SACRIFICE SOME NATIONAL INFLUENCE AND ACCEPT SPLINTER STATUS IN NEW PARLIAMENT.

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